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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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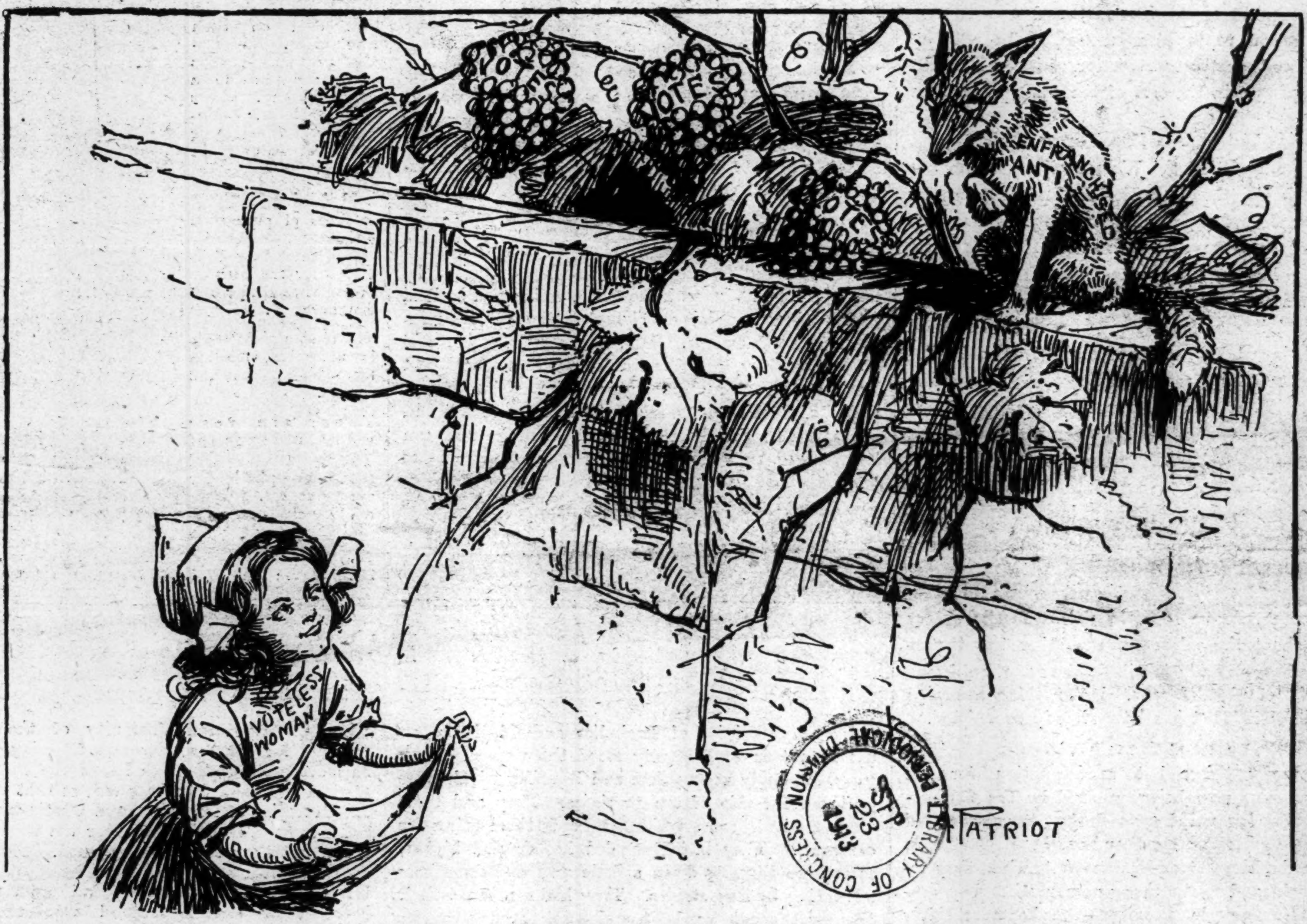
ÆSOP REVISED



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THE SOUR GRAPES OF THE "ANTI"

GREEDY FOX (feigning illness): "You wouldn't like them. They are dreadfully sour grapes."
HUNGRY LITTLE GIRL: "I'll take my chance of that; and you wouldn't be feeling ill if you hadn't been so greedy and refused to share them with me!"

(The "Antis," notably Mr. G. K. Chesterton in the "Daily Herald," and "I.C." in the "Morning Post," have been assuring women lately that the Vote is of no value to men.)

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

A General Election rumour and a practical suffrage resolution passed by the Trade Union Congress have been the only two political events of interest during the week. With the former of these, which arose out of a speech made by Mr. Balfour at Haddington last Saturday, we need concern ourselves at present no more than to remark in passing that there has been nothing in the record of the present Government during their seven years of existence to lead us to wish them another moment's retention of an office they have so gravely dishonoured in all their dealings with women.

The Trade Union Congress

There was a simple directness about the resolution passed last Friday by the Trade Union Congress at Manchester that distinguished it from the academic expression of opinion with which these annual conferences have familiarised us to boredom. The usual adult suffrage resolution having been carried, a really practical motion was put to the meeting, calling upon it to express "deep dissatisfaction" with the Government's treatment of the franchise question, to protest against the Prime Minister's "failure to redeem his repeated pledges to women," and to demand an immediate Government Reform Bill "which must include the enfranchisement of women." This resolution was carried with only seven dissentients, and the opposition raised to it was negligible to a degree. The daily papers, with very few exceptions, either ignored or slurred over this important debate, and we are all the more indebted to Mr. John Scurr for an impression of it, which we give on page 711, in which he puts his finger on the real significance, if it is to have one, of the resolution, by saying: "Mr. Ramsay MacDonald cannot afford, no matter how anxious he may be to maintain the present Government in office, to ignore this considered decision of the Congress." It is quite clear that unless the Labour Party in Parliament insist on giving effect to it, the resolution is so much waste paper.

A Degree for Madame Curie

By being present at this year's meeting of the British Association, Madame Curie, the great French physicist, is doing honour to all women whose intellectual status she, by her researches, has already done so much to raise. The University of Birmingham is taking the opportunity to confer upon her the honorary degree of LL.D., and the ceremony will take place on Thursday afternoon, after we go to press, at the new University buildings, Edgbaston Park. It is expected that Mme. Curie will take part in the discussion on radiation in the Physics Section to-day (Friday). The Birmingham degree is not the only honorary distinction that has been conferred upon her by this country, for she was the second woman to receive the Albert Medal (Queen Victoria was the first), which was awarded to her in 1912 by the Royal Society of Arts for her discovery of radium. The woman's movement all over the world owes much to the eminent Frenchwoman, now in our country, who has proved that at least there is no sex in science.

Another Triumph for Women

Another triumph for women has been won by Miss Ethel Sargant, who has been appointed President of the Botanical Section in this year's meeting of the British Association. Miss Sargant is a Fellow of the Linnæan Society, and has been on its Council. This is the first time that a woman has been chosen as President of a section of the British Association. Many women are also contributing papers, the most important of which will be one by Miss Jordan Lloyd on some aspects of marine life, and one of still greater interest to social reformers, to be read by Mrs. F. Wood, on the construction of index numbers to show changes in the cost of the principal articles of food.

The Case of Mrs. Harvey

We understand that the Women's Freedom League intend to hold a demonstration in Trafalgar Square to-morrow (Saturday), at 3.30 p.m., to protest against the unjust sentence of two months' imprisonment which Mrs. Harvey is now serving in Holloway Gaol, for her refusal as a voteless woman to pay the tax insurance and licence for her gardener. Sentences of this kind, invariably carried into effect when Parliament is not sitting—as was the case with the other two tax-resisters, Miss Clemence Housman and Mr. Mark Wilks—are enough to turn every voteless woman into a rebel. Altogether the fine and costs imposed upon Mrs. Harvey amounted to a sum greatly in excess of any that have been imposed upon men resisters of the Insurance Act who are not Suffragists; and her sentence of imprisonment is far more severe than those continually given to wife-beaters or assailants of little girls. Public outcry brought about the release of the other two tax-resisters we have named; it will do the same, no doubt, in the case of Mrs. Harvey. But nothing can wipe out the injustice that has been already committed.

The "Cat and Mouse" Prisoners

We have nothing but condemnation for the cowardly policy now being pursued by the Government of allowing well-known Suffragist prisoners of influence to go free, after they have been released on licence under the Cat and Mouse Act, while they re-arrest again and again those women who they consider—quite wrongly, however—can be more safely subjected to this abominable persecution. During the last week Mrs. Rigby has been re-arrested for the fourth time, and has, therefore, been presumably going through her fifth hunger strike since July 10; Miss Annie Bell has been re-arrested for the third time, and Miss Shepherd for the first time (her fine has since been paid anonymously). In supposing that by persecuting Suffragists who do not happen to be leaders they can avoid criticism and attack the Government show that they have entirely mistaken, as so often before, the whole spirit of the suffrage movement.

When the Police are Away . . .

In the absence of police—shall we say protection?—a perfectly orderly meeting of many thousands of people was held in Dublin last Sunday, greatly to the surprise of those who have not followed the course of the Suffrage agitation carried on in this country during the last few years. It does not surprise us in the least to hear that a meeting composed of precisely the same elements as the meeting which was broken up by the police the week before should have remained orderly to the close when the police were not there to baton the people to exasperation. Suffrage meetings in Hyde Park, this very summer, were also "a menace to public order" until the police and their allies, the hooligans, withdrew from the scene.

Why Americans Dislike Militancy

A great deal of commotion is being worked up in the British Press over the rumoured intention of the immigration authorities of New York to prevent Mrs. Pankhurst from landing there when she goes to the States for her projected lecturing tour in the autumn. It will be time enough to discuss this unprecedented treatment of a political refugee when it really takes place; meanwhile, we cannot help being amused at the pious warnings given to Mrs. Pankhurst by some of our contemporaries as to the probable treatment she will receive at the hands of an infuriated American public if she does land. With the picture of Llanystumdwy still fresh in our minds, we cannot imagine why it should be supposed that any English Suffragette would mind facing the whole continent of America, however infuriated. And, speaking of the alleged American dislike to militancy, we would like to suggest to Miss Haldane, who has just said in an interview that she found no trace of militancy among the most ardent American Suffragists, that there is probably no need for militancy in a country where the men respect the women's demand for freedom instead of treating it as an unnatural crime.

An "Amusing Point"

We notice that under the heading of "Amusing Points," the *Westminster Gazette* gives an instance at Bethnal Green of an Englishwoman, a widow, whose husband had been a foreigner, in consequence of which she was struck off the Local Government register because she too had become a foreigner by her marriage. The *Westminster Gazette* calls this "A Penalty of Marriage." We should prefer to call it the penalty of being born in a country where women do not count, so that it is possible for the marriage ceremony to alter their nationality and put them outside the pale of such citizenship as would otherwise be grudgingly allowed them.

Public Meeting in Kingsway Hall, October 16

On another page (page 712) we give particulars of the next public meeting in London organised by the Votes for Women Fellowship, which will be held at the Kingsway Hall on Thursday, October 16, commencing at 8 o'clock. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and the speakers will be the Right Rev. the Bishop of Kensington, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence. Tickets, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., will be ready next Monday, and can be obtained by Fellows and others on application to the Ticket Secretary, Votes for Women Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. The Editors of Votes for Women hope that the meeting will be of good augury for the commencement of the work of the autumn.

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THE BRIDGE

By Dorothy Allen Degen

By the Precipice of Prejudice and Obstinacy on the Mountain of Difficulty stood the women. They gazed longingly at Freedom and Equality which were on the other side of the precipice. They and their ancestors had been marching towards these prizes for centuries. They had struggled higher and higher, sometimes slipping down a little way and sometimes advancing by long strides. They had continued their journey through hardship and ease, through danger and safety, through health and sickness, now hopeful, now despairing. Gradually they had turned their weakness into strength, their ignorance into knowledge. They had learned to climb the Mountain of Difficulty and now, in sight of their goal, they were forced to halt, for who could leap over that terrible precipice. What bridge could span it?

Some women boldly approached the edge and gazed down. Others climbed into it attempting to reach the bottom, but they could not go far for it became dark and the sides smooth, so that there was no foothold. More fled, crying that they could never bridge that chasm. Their companions sat down, recognising their own helplessness, and waited for one to come who would show them the way over. Many attempted to leap across and either disappeared for ever down the Precipice of Prejudice and Obstinacy or, catching hold of a ledge, scrambled back. There were women who tried to fill up the chasm, throwing in a few handfuls of sand at a time, while their sisters called to the men begging their assistance.

"For," they said, "if we held yon prizes of Equality and Liberty how much more rapidly we could tread the Path of Progress. Then we could join you and advance even faster by mutual help."

But the majority of men, remembering the persuasive power of the opposite sex as typified by Eve, refused to listen lest they should be made to think differently.

Then the women tried to make a Bridge of Suffering Heroically Borne.

"Christ," they said, "found that the only way to make a Bridge of Virtue, Mercy, and Pity over the Vice, Cruelty, and Profanity of the world was through His own sorrow and suffering. What can be more glorious than to follow the example of the Saviour? Let us do as He did, so that we may span the Precipice of Prejudice and Obstinacy."

Their bodies weakened under the strain laid upon them, but their souls strengthened. They saw, their eyes dim with agony, that the foundations advanced but slowly. They perceived, although powerless to help, their sisters dragged into the foul Pit of Prostitution, while others sweated, neither resting by day nor by night that they might feed their children and yet avoid the Pit. While none could cross the Precipice such infamies must go on.

Then the women laboured still more desperately, giving their wealth, their time, their toil, and, more precious still, their suffering, to their work. They cast no regretful glances on those of their sisters who disported themselves in the Fields of Pleasure, and who would be the first to hurry across the bridge when it was built.

Then other men and women came and sneered at them.

"You will never build your bridge," they cried, "the foundation alone will take centuries to construct; it lacks the keystone which to bridges like this is most essential. For centuries any bridge spanning such a precipice and working such a change has always demanded the sacrifice of a human life. Suffering some of you can face, Death, none of you can," and they laughed derisively.

"We have right on our side," returned the women. "Our mothers have faced and overcome hardships on the Mountain of Difficulty which were to them as terrible as this. Let our motto be 'Onward,' and onward we must go, despite this precipice. If it cost death to thousands of us, we will die. It is not only for ourselves but for those who come after us that we must show determination and courage to progress. The future generations must continue to advance, and they will not do so if we leave them an example of idleness and timidity."

Then one of the crowd called out:—

"I am ready! My part of the labour shall be to lay the keystone of the bridge. Christ died for the cause of mankind—for men and women. We are following the example of the Great Master. I will die for women!"

And she gave her life because the sacrifice was needed to strengthen the foundations of the bridge.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS DEMANDS VOTES FOR WOMEN

"That this Congress protests against the Prime Minister's failure to redeem his repeated pledges to women, and calls upon the Parliamentary Committee to press for the immediate enactment of a Government Reform Bill which must include the enfranchisement of women."

AN IMPRESSION OF THE SUFFRAGE DEBATE ON SEPTEMBER 5

By John Scurr

It is significant of the advance which the cause of the Emancipation of Women is making in the public mind to note the proceedings at the recent Trade Union Congress.

The Trade Unions have always been anxious to extend the franchise, and Congress after Congress has passed resolutions in favour of adult suffrage. The same resolution was carried this time, but it is important to remember that Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., in submitting the resolution, dealt with the *woman* side of the question. The Congress heartily endorsed the assertion that it would be impossible for women to make a worse mess of things than the men. This argument may not be on a very high plane, but it certainly proves that the General Secretary of an important Trade Union, including a large number of women in its ranks, does not fear the consequences of enfranchisement.

The Question Direct

If the Congress had stopped at this point we should not have been justified in paying any extra attention to the passing of the resolution. We could only have regarded it as a pious expression of opinion. The next resolution raised the question in an absolutely direct form. Mr. Asquith who desires evidence of a public demand should note that the largest Congress which has assembled in the history of the English Trade Union movement has passed, with only seven objectors, a resolution protesting against the Prime Minister's failure to redeem his repeated pledges to women and demanding a Government measure which must include the enfranchisement of women.

The Feeling of the Delegates

There could be no doubt as to the feeling of the delegates. The separation of the two resolutions, the two debates when Congress was pressed for time and the constant fire of interruptions and manifestations of impatience at the arguments of the opponent, proved that the representatives of Labour were definitely on the side of the women.

Of course the attitude of the Labour Party did not receive the censure that it has encountered from many Suffragists, but Mr. Ramsay Macdonald cannot afford, no matter how anxious he may be to maintain the present Government in office, to ignore this considered decision of the Congress.

Reductio ad Absurdum

The opposition was of a feeble character, the delegate who voiced it basing his objection on the wording of the marriage service of the Church of England, and stating that it was the function of man to govern. He admitted that representation must follow taxation, but claimed that women should be freed from taxation. How, he did not suggest! He also said that he was not representing his Union on this question, but he had been given permission to express his own views.

Suffragists have every reason to be satisfied with the result, and every Suffrage Society should take care to lay the facts before Trade Union Branches, so that during the next few months the Government may receive the opinions of the rank and file of the organised workers, endorsing the findings of their representatives.

THE DEBATE

Last Friday, electoral reform was the subject of discussion at the Trade Union Congress, which sat during the week at Manchester. The following omnibus resolution was moved on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee by Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., and was carried with four dissentients:—

"This Congress declares that no Electoral Reform Bill will be satisfactory which does not provide for a reduction to at least three months of the qualifying period by which electors may be placed on the register; the appointment of a registrar to see that all duly qualified voters are placed on the register; the payment by the State of the returning officers' expenses; the holding of all general elections on one and the same day, and the closing of public-houses during the hours of polling; the amendment of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act in the direction of greater stringency; the extension of the franchise to all adults, male and female; and a more equitable distribution of seats; and that the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to draft a Bill upon these lines to be introduced next year."

Mr. Thorne's Experience

Mr. Thorne, in moving the resolution, pointed out that many of them had been fighting for adult suffrage for many years; and that he, in common with others, was not in favour of a limited Bill. His experience was that women of twenty-one years had as much sense as men of the same age, and if women were given the vote they would make no bigger mess of the elections than the men had done. (Laughter.) He was afraid the limited Bill would give increased power to the moneyed classes by affording opportunities for getting sons and daughters on the registers, whereas he was sure that no revising barrister could be persuaded to give votes to the daughters of a poor man living in a four-roomed house.

The Hoary "Anti"

Mr. J. Battle (Spinners' Amalgamation) opposed the motion on the ground that it included votes for women, and he held that government was man's function. ("Shame!") Women wanted votes to raise their wages, but it had not done so for men; their wages remained at subsistence level.

Nearer the Real Thing

A more practical result was achieved in the passing, with only seven dissentients, of the following definite resolution:—

"That this Congress expresses its deep dissatisfaction with the Government's treatment of the franchise question, considering that the Plural Voting Bill is no substitute for the promised Reform Bill; and further, this Congress protests against the Prime Minister's failure to redeem his repeated pledges to women, and calls upon the Parliamentary Committee to press for the immediate enactment of a Government Reform Bill which must include the enfranchisement of women."

This was moved by Mr. H. H. Elvin (National Union of Clerks). Mr. Ben Turner (Textile Workers), who seconded, expressed regret that the solemn promises to bring this subject forward in the last session of Parliament had been broken. The Prime Minister had said he wanted proof that women desired the vote, and better proof could not have been given than the marvellous march of women from all parts of the kingdom to London.

Other speakers having joined in a discussion, which was animated, the resolution was put, with the result given above.

THE CASE OF MRS. HARVEY

INSURANCE ACT PERSECUTION

An important demonstration will be held in Trafalgar Square to-morrow afternoon (Saturday), at 3.30, to protest against the imprisonment of Mrs. Harvey for her refusal to pay the insurance tax and licence for her gardener. Among the speakers will be Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Nina Boyle, Miss Amy Hicks, Mr. John Scurr, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr. George Lansbury, and Mr. Mark Wilks—all the prominent men and women, in fact, who are always to be found on the side of justice and revolt against tyranny.

The Resolution

The following resolution will be put to the meeting:—

"That this meeting protests with indignation against the vindictive sentences passed on voteless women, and especially that on Mrs. Harvey; and demands that the Government accord equal treatment to men and women under the law and under the constitution."

The demonstration which is being organised by the Women's Freedom League, is being advertised by the W.F.L. Caravan, from which meetings are held nightly in London or the suburbs. It is hoped that everyone who loves justice and freedom will be present in the Square to utter a protest against this penalisation of the woman tax-resister.

The Third Time!

This is the third time that the Government have chosen to imprison a tax-resister while Parliament stood adjourned, the two former cases being those of Miss Clemence Housman and Mr. Mark Wilks. On both these occasions the public outcry against their detention while women are voteless forced the Government to release the prisoners. Suffragists must see to it that Mrs. Harvey is not forced to serve her monstrous sentence of two months' imprisonment because Cabinet Ministers are golfing and uncomfortable questions cannot be asked in Parliament.

A Monstrous Sentence

For it is a monstrous sentence. Here is a woman, a social reformer, who has given her life to the improvement of social conditions, thrown into prison for two months for refusing to conform to an Act which has been passed without her consent, while men who ruin little girls are allowed to buy their liberty and the power to repeat the offence with a paltry fine of twenty shillings. Mrs. Harvey, who wants to set these things right, has her hands tied for want of a vote. An Act is passed affecting the lives and pockets of thousands of women and girls, not one of whom had a voice in the framing of it; and in this Act she sees an opportunity of making her protest against the injustice under which all voteless women labour and suffer. For this protest—one which, when made a couple of centuries earlier by Hampden, we honour to-day with statues—she is fined out of all proportion to the technical character of her offence, and finally, on her refusal to pay the fines, she is thrown into prison, not as a political offender, but as a superior sort of criminal, in the *second* division.

Mr. Harben's Protest to the Home Secretary

In a letter to the Home Secretary, after pointing out that "more persons have been imprisoned for political offences in the last four or five years than at any recent period in our history," Mr. Harben continues:—

"I would ask you, sir, what good purpose can possibly be served by such a sentence as this? Two months in the Second Division will cause considerable suffering to Mrs. Harvey herself; but so far from being a deterrent to her or anyone else, its effect will be exactly the reverse. The fact that the offences of Mrs. Harvey and Queenie Gerald are on the same level before the law will ring as a challenge to all decent men and women throughout the country to remove the poison from the springs of justice at all costs and with the utmost speed.

"Were it not that cruelty to women has now become a Government pastime, and that the terrors of Holloway are so obviously the 'panem et circenses' thrown to the creatures of Llanystumdwy, it would be impossible to suppose that in England such a sentence could be allowed to stand."

With acknowledgments to the "Daily Mail."]

MADAME CURIE,

The great French physicist, now attending the meeting of the British Association

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Colours: Purple, White and Red. Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

PAPER-SELLING FOR THE CAUSE

A Man's Experience

One seldom sees men selling Suffrage papers; people always seem to expect to see women selling, as though they thought it a fitting work for women to take up in their spare time. Therefore I appeal to all men to do as much as possible for this great campaign, and let the public see that the men are ready to stand shoulder to shoulder with the women.

I live in the district of Dulwich, and as I have never seen suffrage papers sold about here, or Peckham, I took up my pitch on this occasion at the corner of Rye Lane and High Street, Peckham, about seven o'clock. I stood at a very busy corner, where evening papers were being sold, and naturally was the cause of a few witty remarks from passing "nuts." I had not stood there very long before a burly policeman came up and told me I must move, as the traffic was very thick and it was dangerous (although it was safe for newspaper boys). I told him I should not shift, as I was capable of looking after myself. Not long after an old lady came up and stood just in front of me, staring vacantly at me for some minutes. A small crowd soon collected, and she said, "If there were any Christians here, you would burn him for sacrilege!" Her appeal did not exactly succeed, but was taken as a joke, although she was quite serious.

"One of His Gentle Shoves"

To that crowd I sold three or four copies, so she did me a little good, although she was not aware of it. I had not stood there long before the policeman came up behind me and gave me one of his gentle shoves. I asked him what he thought he was doing. He informed me, with an air of importance, that I had my foot on the kerb, and that I must stand right in the gutter—which, of course, worried me a lot. Seeing that I was determined to stay on my pitch, he left me, but not willingly. I stood there till about 10.30, and sold altogether about eight or nine copies, which is a very good number for a new pitch.

Now, I just wish to give my readers some idea of the injustice a suffragist has to contend with in a business house. I am on night work, and when I left my pitch I tied my papers up in a parcel and went straight on to business. In the office where I work they are all Antis, numbering about twenty; and I told them what I had been doing and what the parcel contained. When I reached home the next morning I found that each one had been torn in half, and they had then been wrapped up again just as I had left them. That night, when I got to business I spoke to the manager about it. He said, "Oh, well, what else do you expect? What right had you to bring such trash here? The fellows were quite right." Which I took from whence it came. But when he went on to tell me I was to give up the suffrage movement entirely or else he would get me the sack, I explained to him that better people than he would ever be had sold suffrage papers in the gutter; and as for giving up my ideals for him because he was over me in business hours, I told him firmly that for nobody would I do that.

So, although it may mean having to put up with a lot of unpleasantness, I appeal again to all men to join in the paper-selling and help the cause in this way.

L. T.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

KINGSWAY HALL

Public Meeting, Thursday, October 16

We are in a position to give, this week, full particulars with regard to the next London meeting, organised by the Votes for Women Fellowship. We have already announced the date, October 16, and the fact that the Bishop of Kensington will be one of the speakers. Owing to the rapid growth of the Fellowship, it has been found necessary to take a larger hall than the Portman Rooms, and the Kingsway Hall has accordingly been selected.

At the request of a large number of Fellows, the meeting will be thrown open to the public and will provide an opportunity of public welcome to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Sybil Smith, and Miss Evelyn Sharp, the three Votes for Women Fellows who were imprisoned last July for endeavouring to present to Mr. McKenna in person the Memorial against the Cat and Mouse Act drawn up by a specially convened Conference. It will be remembered that this Conference was representative of the Suffrage movement as a whole, and that Mrs. Lawrence was a delegate from the Votes for Women Fellowship, Lady Sybil Smith from the West Essex Women's Franchise Society, and Miss E. Sharp from the Women Writers' Suffrage League. The Conference appointed a deputation, including these three members, to go to the House of Commons, but the Minister refused to receive it, and subsequently Mrs. Lawrence, Lady Sybil Smith, and Miss Sharp were arrested and imprisoned, while Mrs. Cecil Chapman and other members of the deputation were very roughly handled by the police.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will also address the meeting in the Kingsway Hall, which will commence at 8 p.m.

Admission to the meeting will be by ticket only. Prices, 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. The 2s. 6d. seats consist of the front rows of central stalls, all numbered and reserved. The 1s. seats are also all numbered and reserved, and can be obtained either in the stalls or in the front rows of the balcony. The 6d. seats are in the balcony and in the stalls, but are unreserved.

Apply for Tickets at Once

The tickets will be ready next Monday, September 15, and application, enclosing postal order, should be made as soon as possible to the Ticket Secretary, Votes for Women Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. Fellows are particularly invited to take tickets for themselves and their friends, and to bring as many friends as possible to the meeting. Tickets can also be obtained by direct application by those who are not themselves Fellows. In applying for 1s. or 6d. seats the part of the hall required should be stated. The Ticket Secretary at the above address has also a number of handbills of the meeting, which she will be pleased to supply to those who care to send them in letters to their friends and acquaintances.

READ OUR PAPER
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WOMEN
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A Goat Chaise Advertising "Votes for Women" in a Hertfordshire Village.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Members of the paper-selling corps did good work at the recent Anti-Vivisection and Free Speech demonstrations, not merely by selling, but also by individual propaganda. Many interesting and fresh points of view are brought forward at these gatherings, as well as at the pitches, and sellers say they find in converting others that their own understanding of the movement widens. Who will volunteer for next Saturday afternoon in Trafalgar Square, when the Women's Freedom League will hold a demonstration to protest against the sentence passed on Mrs. Harvey? There are several good pitches waiting to be filled up, and others for someone to start them; also sellers are wanted for regular meetings. Will those who can give any regular time write to the Organiser, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., stating just what days and hours they can give?

If there are any Fellows living or staying in or near Southampton who will sell at the Church Congress, September 27 to October 4, will they send in their names? Our paper must be represented there.

FELLOWSHIP NOTES

Members continue to join the Fellowship in large numbers, and applications for membership reach us from all parts of the world. One Fellow sent in the names of twenty-three new members, last week, from Wisconsin alone. That is a record well worth the competition of our English Fellows. Who is going to beat it over here?

We are especially glad to reach the hand of Fellowship to our American comrades, who are making such a good fight for freedom themselves. One of these, who tells us she has been a reader of Votes for Women since 1907, writes from Indianapolis: "The English story interests me immensely. I see in it one of the world tragedies, the great crisis of which occurred on the memorable day in June, 1911, when the women marched in their glorious and harmonious procession, and Mr. Asquith made the fair promises which were not to be fulfilled. There was the great opportunity lost."

Practical Details

Fellowship Badges, price 3d., post free 4d., are to be obtained on application to the Hon. Secretary. Also books, price 1d., containing 25 adhesive labels, to be attached to letters or bills by Fellows when dealing with the firms who advertise in Votes for Women.

Particulars concerning membership of the Votes for Women Fellowship will be found on page 718 of this issue.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To Sept. 8, 1913)

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	843	17	11
Miss M Paton	0	1	3
Miss A. Pitkin	0	1	0
Miss J. M. Boorman	0	1	0
Dr. and Mrs. J. C. McLaren	2	0	0
Mrs. D. Hall	0	2	6
Miss C. Fowler Shore	0	1	0
Mrs. Hull	0	1	0
Mrs. Hawkins	0	1	0
Miss Jennings	0	1	0
Per Mrs. Menietsberger	0	1	0
Miss Roberts (extra on Votes)	0	0	6
Miss Roberts (extra on street sales)	0	1	5
Total	£846	10	7

ODE TO A PAPER-SELLER

The poet whose initials, I. C., are familiar as the signature to many clever political verses in the *Morning Post*, has written an "Ode to a Suffragette," which appeared in that paper on September 3. As the Suffragette who inspired "I. C.'s" muse on this occasion happened to be a Votes for Women paper-seller, we quote three verses from the Ode, the third of which (the concluding one of the poem) seems to embody the Chestertonian doctrine that because men have made a bad job of democracy, women are not to be permitted to try their hand at it:—

O purple-favoured lady, earnest-eyed,
Whom it would be presumptuous to call fair,
Holding thy paper with defiant pride
Before the jostling crowd that shrug or stare,
Or with a glance deride,
Or, as most do, unseeing pass thee by,
Pre-occupied with their own private care,
And blind to thine appealing hand and eye.

Yet thus thou standest patient hour on hour,
But sometimes to arrest the hurrying crowd
Dost raise a voice of shrill and quavering power,
Crying "Votes for Women"—rather high than loud—
And so in sun or shower
Thou spendest all the pleasant summer days,
Like one who, to some pious penance vowed,
Keeps steadfast in the dusty pilgrim ways.

* * * * * * *

Beware, thou purple-favoured Eve, beware,
Lest thou repent at leisure of thy haste.
Share it with us and thou shalt also share
The fallacies, the folly, and the waste,
The anger, the despair,
That hang together on that fatal tree;
'Tis bitter-savoured fruit thou long'st to taste—
The Dead Sea apple of Democracy!

I. C.

THE LIONS IN THE PATH OF REFORMERS

A Life of Allan Octavian Hume*

This interesting volume, the life of a distinguished Anglo-Indian Civil Servant by another, well deserves to be read by all supporters of the movement for women's enfranchisement. Be it reform in Indian Government, or the emancipation of women in Great Britain, all such movements have strong points of resemblance; by studying the one we shall have our expectations confirmed, or be taught what we should expect from the other. Allan Hume, eighth child of the celebrated reformer, Joseph Hume, was born in 1829, educated at Haileybury, and posted to the Indian Civil Service by the East India Company in 1849. He started low down in officialdom, being at first clerk of a police station, and occupying two other small posts to gain experience before he was allowed to try his first case of petty assault. He was of the stuff of which great rulers are made, and quickly rose to be assistant magistrate, Deputy Collector at Etawah, and finally Collector, a position he enjoyed until 1867, and in which he greatly distinguished himself. He knew the people and their language well, loved them, and was consumed by a strong desire to benefit them, to lessen their ignorance and the danger from famine, flood, and pestilence. Surely there is no finer sight than this noble-minded, gifted young man of 25, straining every nerve, spending himself and using his talents to better the condition of the 722,000 persons committed to his care. He reformed the police, set on foot an extensive system of elementary free schools, started an excellent vernacular paper, established juvenile reformatories separate from prisons, took measures to advance agriculture, improved irrigation, lessened crime, especially female infanticide, and practically rebuilt Etawah city, making it sanitary and even sightly. Little wonder that Government placed on record its high opinion of the ability, energy and judgment of his administration; in Hume it had an ideal servant. When the mutiny broke out he put himself at the head of loyal troops, fought in more than one engagement, and so distinguished himself that he was made C.B. When he became Commissioner of Customs in 1867, the same capacity was displayed. He abolished the salt barrier, lowered the price of that highly taxed commodity by half, whilst at the same time double the revenue was obtained from it.

Feed my Sheep

He and Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, were genuine, practical agriculturists, who recognised that agriculture was the backbone of India; they wanted to feed and not only shear the sheep. Mr. Hume was then Secretary to the Government of India, and he and Lord Mayo worked out an admirable Agricultural Department for India, of which Hume was to be Director. Unhappily, the India Office whittled the whole scheme down until it lost all value; the scheme for agricultural banks was stabbed to death at a later date also in the India Office, affording another example of the blessings of British rule in India. In 1879 Mr. Hume was retired, or, as he himself phrased it, summarily ejected from the Secretariat, because in the privacy of the Viceroy's Council he dared to express fully and freely to Lord Lytton the views he held on any measure that came up for discussion. All the leading Anglo-Indian papers, not usually favourable to Hume, commented on the gross jobbery involved, on the penalising of honesty and independence. Shortly afterwards Mr. Hume retired from the service. By God's blessing he was then enabled to do the greatest piece of work to which he had yet set his hand. He had emphatically been a great ruler, but in 1885 he founded the Indian National Congress, welding together native gentlemen and Englishmen in a great organisation which claims for Indians such a representative share in the Government of their vast country as they are at present capable of undertaking. The Congress worked on amidst one of the worst storms of misrepresentation, misunderstanding and vituperation that any body of reformers has ever had to bear, a storm equal in violence to that borne at the present moment by the movement for women's emancipation. Nevertheless, the Government of India has been compelled to grant many of the changes that Congress demanded. Among the reforms Lord Morley granted in 1909 was the leavening of the great Provincial Councils by a representative element; Indians now sit there of right.

Sir William Wedderburn is a man of peace, very willing to make allowance, wishful that patience and steadfastness should accomplish their perfect work; he fully recognises how much the Time Spirit can do for great causes without needless fretting and fuming. Yet he does not refrain from a plain, telling statement of fact:—

> No reform has ever been initiated by the leaders of the Indian bureaucracy. On the contrary, the class interests which hold the lever of power at Simla and at the India Office are continually working to strengthen the official position. Not only have they always done their best to prevent new concessions, but when opportunity has offered, they have taken away the privileges inherited from a former generation of reformers—the liberty of the press, the right of public meeting, municipal self-government, the independence of the Universities. These ill-starred measures of reaction, combined with Russian methods of police repression, brought India under Lord Lytton within measurable distance of a revolutionary outbreak.

A Close Analogy

Those who have followed the present agitation for the enfranchisement of women will easily perceive how close is the parallel between it and Indian reform. Where the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy sees "nigger" writ large, even so the British Cabinet sees woman. The Anglo-Indian press is notoriously the tail of those two good dogs rolled into one, the Viceroy's Council and the India Office; it never wearies of repeating that Congress wants Home Rule for India. Even so more than one member of the present Government calls the enfranchisement of women, which does not even entail eligibility for Parliament, the rule of women. In India justice has more than once been prostituted to the emergencies in which the Government was placed by the divorce between principle and practice. Its difficulties in enforcing order, in preventing suttee, infanticide, in forwarding education and promoting the reform movement generally, would have been lessened had it at an earlier date and to a larger extent associated efficient Indians with British rule; just as Parliament to-day would find the movement for social reform reinforced by the enfranchisement of women. In Britain men alone legislate to improve the status of the child in the home and the school; men alone attempt to legislate on the white slave traffic and public morality; men, driven by the mere fact that they are responsible only to men electors, fix an eight-hour day for some of the strongest and best paid male workers of the community, whilst they utterly neglect both the hours and the wages of women who most need better regulation by Government. These are some of the anomalies created for society by a Parliament not properly representative of the people, a Parliament that needs reform in 1913 every whit as much as in 1832, 1867 and 1884.

Need for Representation

Mr. Hume was a social reformer, one who had deeply at heart the welfare of India's millions. Free and compulsory education, the raising of the status of women, the abolition of child-marriage, the better treatment of widows, were matters that greatly concerned him. But he clearly saw that all this work was at a standstill, that foreigners could not deal with these intimate matters of domestic life until India possessed representative institutions. It was of set purpose that he for a time abandoned the work of social regeneration and devoted all his energy and powers to political reform. The analogy is precise between him and women reformers in Great Britain. An implement is sought by the reformer; its possession means progress. To this end Mr. Hume warned a colleague that all needed to concentrate on some share of representative government for India.

All reformers need a newspaper to make progress, to record it, and above all to give the jade Truth a chance of making herself heard. Hume first tried to get her a hearing in various British journals known to be favourable to the cause of India. When this fell through, he founded the paper "India," which at first appeared irregularly, then monthly; it has been weekly ever since 1898. He assisted to found the Indian Parliamentary Committee which soon numbered 150 members, and is now nearly 200. Just like women suffragists, Mr. Hume had cause for complaint against telegraphic news agencies, and the way in which their wares are coloured when presented to British readers; thus the "unspeakable blessings" of our rule are able to appeal to the eye in print. Before the Indian Parliamentary Committee was formed, its founders debated how to get hold of the ear of Parliament, an organ sometimes afflicted with atrophy and deafness. It was agreed that a pledge should be taken from every candidate for election, and sagely computed that about one in ten would keep his promise!

To Deport Reformers

It ought to interest the leaders of the movement for women's suffrage to learn that certain high-handed functionaries in India desired to suppress Congress and recommended that Hume should be deported; it is not mentioned whether the place for the Friend of India—this is Hume's title from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—should be St. Helena.

His interests were many-sided. He was well versed in Eastern religions, and a great ornithologist, joint author of a standard work on Indian birds. In 1885 he made the princely gift to the British Museum, Kensington, of 82,000 bird and eggs, a collection which could have been sold to the United States for a vast sum. He was a believer in woman suffrage, and for a short time in the nineties sat on the Executive of the London Society. For twenty years he was President of the Dulwich and Penge Liberal and Radical Association, and took an active part in the electoral contests of that period. During the last ten or twelve years of his life he made another vast collection, this time a botanical one, of 40,000 specimens, a number of which he collected himself. During recent years his house at Upper Norwood was crowded with huge cases, and several workers were constantly at work pressing and mounting specimens under his supervision. This collection was presented to London as the South London Botanical Institute, and informally opened February, 1912. He retained his faculties and working powers almost to the end of his long life, falling on sleep at the age of 83. Indian and other reformers may well say of him, "Well done, good and faithful servant of India." Those who know India are well aware that both Hume and Wedderburn are regarded as rishis (saints) by the peoples of India. On Mr. Hume's death, a eulogist alluded to them in the press as "worshippable." Although 50 years had elapsed since Mr. Hume had ruled Etawah, the shops in Etawah City were closed out of respect to the great Collector's memory, when the news of his death reached that district.

C. S. Bremner.

A PIONEER*

The Freedom League has published a brightly-written little memoir of Frances Mary Buss, the quiet, persistent woman who revolutionised the education of girls in this country. We are perhaps a little apt to forget how much we owe to workers like Miss Buss and Miss Beale, who so daringly broke new ground in days when the question of the education of women was treated with frivolity, and a "learned" woman regarded as likely to be dangerous. Miss Marion Holmes has done well to remind us once more of those early struggles which resulted in the foundation of the Girls' Public Day Schools and of the Women's Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Miss Buss and her fellow-workers were strong Suffragists, and certainly did a great deal towards preparing women for the vote.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Essays in Rebellion." By Henry W. Nevinson. (London: Nisbet. Price 6s. net.)

"Westminster Review." September. (London: Marlborough. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Fiat Lux." By Kate C. House. (High Wycombe: Butler and Son. Price 2d.)

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* "Allan Octavian Hume." By Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Bart. 1913. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. 5s. net.)

* "Frances Mary Buss." By Marion Holmes. (Women's Freedom League, Adelphi. 3d.)

Articles and News contributed for insertion in VOTES FOR WOMEN should be sent to The Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

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TRAFALGAR SQUARE,
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SPEAKERS:
Mrs. DESPARD, Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY, Miss NINA BOYLE, Mr. JOHN SCURR, and others.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE
will commence its
Autumn Session of
Wednesday Afternoon Public Meetings
at CAXTON HALL,
on SEPTEMBER 24th, 1913.
Speakers:—**Mr. LAURENCE HOUSMAN**
(on "The 'Rights' of Majorities").
Miss NINA BOYLE.
The Chair will be taken by **Mrs. HUNTSMAN, at 3.30.**
ADMISSION FREE.

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1913.

A TAX ON MARRIAGE

We hear a great deal to-day about the declining birthrate in this country. Preachers and others have not hesitated to make it a ground for censure upon the womanhood of the race. Yet how few people realise that whereas in France there has recently been imposed a tax upon bachelors, in the United Kingdom there is a tax on marriage! Yet such is actually the case. Moreover, this tax amounts to considerably over a million sterling per annum, and is even gloried in by Mr. Lloyd George, who regards its continued existence as so important that he has refused to remedy a glaring injustice to women because the removal of that would necessitate the abandonment of the tax on marriage at the same time!

Of course, the "marriage tax" is not imposed specifically under that name; it takes the form of lumping together for the purpose of income-tax the incomes of husband and wife. This is a relic of the days before the Married Woman's Property Acts were carried, and provides an illustration of how a married woman was originally regarded for all purposes, and is still regarded for many purposes, by the law. As regards income-tax, the wife is not reckoned as a separate personality, she is merely the adjunct of her husband. He is required to make the return of her income; he pays the tax upon it if it has not been already paid at the source; he obtains abatement on it if any is allowed. The absurd anomaly of this position was exemplified last year by the case of Mr. Wilks, the husband of Dr. Wilks, and was subsequently fully admitted by the Lord Chancellor. The injustice and humiliation inflicted upon women by it was acknowledged in the spring of the present year by Mr. Lloyd George. But the aspect of the question with which we are at present concerned is its effect as a veritable tax on marriage.

This result arises in consequence of the system of abatement on income-tax for small incomes which prevails in this country. Incomes less than £160 a year pay no income-tax. Incomes over £160, but less than £400, are entitled to deduct £160 before reckoning tax; incomes over £400, but less than £700, are entitled to deduct varying amounts; incomes over £700 pay in full. If, therefore, husband and wife have small incomes, they do not obtain as much abatement as if their incomes were dealt with separately. Let us take a few specific instances of common occurrence to see how the rule works out in practice.

Firstly, suppose the wife has a small inheritance from her father of £40 a year from investments, while the husband is a clerk earning £100 a year. Income-tax to the amount of £2 6s. 8d. will have been deducted from the wife's income at the source, which, when she was single, she could recover herself. In this case the combined income of the couple is below £160, and full abatement can still be claimed. There is not, therefore, any marriage tax. But the abatement can now only be obtained by the husband, and he is under no obligation to hand it over to his wife. The effect, therefore, of her marriage is by the income-tax law to deprive the wife of £2 6s. 8d. a year out of her separate property and hand it over to her husband.

Secondly, let us take the case of a wife with an inherited income of £100 a year and a husband with an income of £200 a year. If these incomes were treated separately, the wife would pay no income-tax at all, and the husband would pay on £40 only (the difference between £200 and £160). Taken together, the incomes amount to £300 and are only entitled to an abatement on £160, and payment has to be made on the remaining £140. That is to say, the husband himself will pay income-tax on £40, and, in addition, the £5 16s. 8d. income-tax collected at the source on the wife's £100 cannot be reclaimed. In this case, therefore, there is a marriage tax amounting to £5 6s. 8d. which falls on the wife's separate estate.

Thirdly, let us take the case of a husband and wife each possessed of an inherited income of £400. Reckoned separately, they would each be entitled to abatement so far as £160 was concerned, i.e., to an abatement of £9 6s. 8d. each. But when their incomes are reckoned together, the combined total, being above the limit, is subject to no abatement whatever. In this case, therefore, there is a marriage tax of £18 13s. 4d. which falls equally on the incomes of husband and wife.

The three illustrations which we have just given do not, of course, exhaust all the categories of incomes of husband and wife, but they are sufficient to show how the law works out in countless instances. In each case the result varies, but the fact that a wife with an inherited income of under £700 a year is made to suffer loss is invariable.

In order to appreciate the matter in its full significance, it is necessary to realise that this lumping together of incomes occurs only in the case of husband and wife. Father and son may be living together and pooling their resources, but they are subject to no aggregation of income for the purposes of tax. The same is true of mother and daughter, brother and sister, and even of a man and woman living together and having children but not joined in lawful wedlock. It is indisputable, therefore, that we have a definite marriage tax which, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's own estimate, amounts to about £1,250,000 a year. This tax falls almost entirely upon married persons with moderate or small incomes who have incurred the onerous responsibility of rearing the future citizens of the nation.

Why has not this tax, so contrary to sound statesmanship, so repugnant to good sense, been long ago swept away? We have no hesitation in answering, "Because the main burden of it falls on women, and women are voteless." If women had won the vote in 1912, Mr. Lloyd George would not have dared to treat the matter as he has done in 1913. Nor would Members of Parliament responsible to women constituents have been satisfied with the promise made by him that he would make an alteration in the law in 1914, but that he had no intention of abolishing the principle of aggregation. So long as this glaring injustice remains, it will provide one more cogent illustration of the fact that the driving power of women's vote is necessary to win for women and for their family adequate consideration in the Parliament of the country.

THOSE ANTIS!

By E. Weir

(Mrs. Higgs Tells Her Cousin from the Market Town all about the Anti-Sufferin' Meeting in the Village Hall)

"Well, you see, my dear, it's like this. You knows there are two villages here, a mile and an 'alf from each other, Upper and Lower Leyworth. The Duchess, she lives at Upper Leyworth, and the Rector and his lady lives there, too, and Squire Day, 'e lives 'ere in Lower Leyworth, and Miss Alice, his daughter, lives with 'im, and Mr. Harry, 'e lives at the Rectory in Upper Leyworth when 'e's not in Lunnon. I'm tellin' you all this, for they're all mixed up with this 'ere sufferin'. Miss Alice, she's one o' them sufferin' cats as they call them, and a millinery one at that, though why they calls it 'millinery' when it means breakin' winders I don't quite understand, and she such a dear, kind lady as ever was, and Mr. Harry at the Rectory agreeing with every word she says—oh, yes! I'm just coming to the meeting.

"Well, Miss Alice 'ad some o' her friends down 'ere; now Squire 'e didn't like it much, but he never can't say no to Miss Alice, her mother bein' dead and all, and the curate he lives 'ere, 'e lodges with ole Miss Read, 'e was fair 'orrified. But Miss Alice, she brings some o' them sufferin' cats on the village green one day, and, to please her like, we all went and stood at a distance, and the ladies wot spoke was very pleasant like, and soon we was all quite near them and listening 'ard, and some o' the neighbours was quite taken up wi' them, and Miss Alice she kep' her eye on drunken Tom and a few more o' them sort, and, bless you, them ladies didn't look like cats at all, but just like you and me, and they didn't break none of our winders, but answered Long Jack's questions ('e's allers askin' questions, 'e is) quite pleasant like, so I suppose they wasn't the real Lunnon ones, but Miss Alice said, 'Oh, yes! don't you see the purple, white, and green?' but how them colours changes women into cats I can't see, but then I never was clever.

"But the Duchess, she was fair annoyed with Miss Alice, and told Squire she wouldn't allow such goin's on in *her* village, and Squire, 'e's 'ot tempered like, and is allers quarrelling with the Duchess over boundaries, and 'e up and says, 'Ho! Duchess!' says 'e, 'us men believes in lettin' people 'ave fair play, and they didn't do no 'arm, and this is *my* village,' says 'e, 'and women 'ave no sense of honour,' says 'e; and she up and says, 'Ho! Mr. Day, I'll soon show you,' she says, 'we'll 'ave a meetin' at the Upper Village,' says she.

"So Duchess she comes round to everyone on us in both villages and asks us all to tea at the Village 'All, and said as 'ow some kind gentlemen was comin' from Lunnon to tell us all about Anti-sufferin', and we must all come.

"Well, then Miss Alice and Mr. Harry, which allers wos in mischief together since they wos quite small, gets round some o' the women in our village not to go, quite artful like, and writes letters for 'em, and that's wot I wants to tell you about. Well, the great day comes, but before that we all got a very grand card from the Duchess. 'Ere it is. I keeps it wrop up in tissue paper. Look:—

"'Home, sweet Home.
"'Woman's Place is the Home.

"'The Duchess of Leyworth wishes the pleasure of your husband and yourself to tea on Tuesday evening to hear Mr. Isaac Meeking talk about Anti-Suffrage. Colonel Black from India in the chair.'

"Well, we was all excited, and none o' us 'adn't no dinner, for we expected a grand tea with the Duchess, like Miss Alice gives us on her, Squire's, and her mother's birthday, real fine teas *they* are, and Miss Alice and Squire a-pourin' out the tea, and lots o 'fine things to eat, fit to burst, and everybody 'appy and friendly like. Well, it wos an awful night o' wind and rain, and we 'ad a mile and an 'alf to walk to the Upper Village, and when we got to the 'All there wasn't no tea nowhere to be seen, and, oh, we wos wet and 'ungry, and the Duchess wasn't there, nor the Rector's lady, they wos all 'aving dinner together, and the Rector, too. Well, we wos awful wet and 'ungry, not 'avin' 'ad no dinners, and a long walk in the rain, and we couldn't see no tea ready for us, and the men, they all went to the Blue Cow and the Leyworth Arms, but we women just waited, and presently in comes some cups o' tea and a plate or two o' biscuits, and some o' us 'ad a cup of half-cold, weak tea, and some o' us 'ad a biscuit, but some of us didn't 'ave nothin', but we just sat and waited and waited for the swells as wos 'aving their comfortable dinners, and, oh, we wos so wet and 'ungry, and I whispers to my neighbour, 'Well, I don't know about Votes for Women, but I know I'm *sufferin'* enough.'

"Then, by and bye, we 'ears the motors, and in comes the swells, and they all looked quite comfortable, and the Rector 'e gets up and says, 'Well, I 'opes you've all enjoyed the excellent tea I'm sure the dear Duchess has kindly given you; I see you've cleared it away nice and quick and made the room quite nice again, and as I couldn't come down and say grace for you, we'll all sing the grace for after meals, for we must not forget that the Almighty is with us in this great battle.' Well, we didn't know what 'e meant, and the singin' wosn't very 'earty, as we wos all so 'ungry like, and then the Rector asked the Colonel from India to take the chair, and the Colonel says 'e would begin by readin' some very touchin' letters which 'ad been sent to 'im from some women in the village, and I could see by Mr. Harry's laughing eyes and Miss Alice's solemn face that they 'ad been up to some o' their tricks, and sure enough I saw that none o' the women in our village wot 'olds wi' them sufferin' cats wos there, but wos all comfortable at 'ome, and the Colonel, 'e wos a fat, red-faced little man, reads: 'Honoured Sir,—My 'usband wants me to stop at 'ome and get 'im 'is tea, so I'm sorry I can't come to 'ear about Votes for Women, but I 'opes that you'll all enjoy yourselves.—Yours respectfully, Mary Jones.' Then the Colonel 'e praises Mrs. Jones and says 'ow beautiful it wos to find a woman like 'er, and 'e wished we would all take example and stop at 'ome and get our 'usbands their teas, and I'm sure we wished the same, she sittin' at 'ome quite comfortable and gettin' praised and we so cold and 'ungry; and then there was a letter from Widder Green at the Almshouses, she's allers at us about Votes for Women, she writes and says: 'Dear Sir,—My friend 'as a sick baby and I'm doin' a bit o' washin' for 'er, so I can't come to-night,' and the old Colonel 'e glares at us again and says why can't we all go and do the washin' instead o' comin' to meetings.

"Then the Duchess gets very red and tries to stop 'im from reading any more letters, but the old genelman said no, he liked 'em very much, and the Duchess she stared very 'ard like at Miss Alice, but *she* wos listenin' very 'ard to the Colonel, and 'e reads another one from Mrs. Heywood, wot lives two cottages from me and 'as a sufferin' paper every week, and she says in 'er letter: 'Dear Sir,—I 'as three children, and am nussing my own baby, and so I can't come to your Votes for Women meeting,' and the Colonel 'e begins again praising 'er, and asks us why we don't all stop at 'ome and nuss our own babies, instead o' bringin' 'em out on a night like this to a meetin' and disturbin' everybody, for I don't deny it, some of the kids wos yelling awful, but I did think it was a shame to abuse us and praise them deceitful 'ussies wot was at 'ome enjoyin' themselves.

"Then the Duchess asked the Colonel to begin 'is speech as there wos a lot o' gentlemen wantin' to speak, too, so the old gentleman told us that if we women 'ad a vote all the black men would get up and say, 'We don't respect old England any more,' and that they would kill everybody, and we all wos very frightened.

"Next another gentleman gets up and tells us 'ow nice the women was in all other countries, and 'ow kind they was to their 'usbands, and made their dinners so nice, and how Lunnon was full o' 'ussies walking along the streets and deceivin' the men, and he thought that wos wot the sufferin' cats should be doin' (at least, I *think* that wos what he said, but he spoke so muddled like, and I wos so 'ungry), and that Englishmen wos far better than the men in any other country, and wos all brave soldiers and sailors, and good 'earted sons goin' all about Lunnon sending 'alf-crown postal orders to their starvin' mothers, and I thought about the people in our village 'ow different we wos, we women workin' so 'ard and never gettin' no postal orders, and I did feel so 'ungry.

"Then another nice kind gentleman got up, 'e wos quite young, and said as 'ow women didn't 'ave no work to do except look pretty and comfort a poor man after 'is 'ard day's toil; and then another got up and said as 'ow the women insisted on working for very low wages and took the bread out o' the men's mouths, and the children wos starving, and me bein' so 'ungry I kep' on thinkin' about they gorgin' 'ussies in Lunnon, and then a lady got up and says if she 'ad 'er way she would give something to somebody, but I was so faint like, not 'aving 'ad no tea nor no dinner, that I don't know who was to get it, leastways, it wosn't us, for we didn't get nothin'; and then the Duchess says, 'Now we'll vote,' and I thinks 'ow awful after all them kind gentlemen 'as said, and then she stepped forward and said, 'Against,' and none of us did nothin', and the Duchess says, 'All of you put up your right hands, please,' so we did, and then she said, 'Down,' so we put 'em down, and then she looked at us very straight and said, 'For,' and we wanted to please 'er, so we all put up our 'ands again quite quick, but she called out, 'No, no, you mustn't put up your hands this time,' so we all put them down again, and then she said, 'That's carried with no Dissenters,' but I know that wasn't right for I saw lots o' chapel folk there.

"Then the swells went 'ome in their motors, and we trudged 'ome in an awful rain and wind, and there wasn't no fire when we got 'ome, and we wos shiverin' and 'ungry, and we 'ad a bit of bread and cheese, and that wos our sufferin' party, and now let's 'ave a cup o' tea, and you can tell me the noos o' the town."

"NAN" AT THE COURT THEATRE

The "Tragedy of Nan," by John Masefield, is a play which no one who appreciates real drama can afford to miss. It is just a simple story of West-country life a hundred years ago, but it is full of the deep elemental passions of the human heart. Mr. Masefield's insight into character is faultless, and in "Nan" he has given us of his best.

Some of our readers will recall to mind the wonderful poem he wrote for the columns of this paper a year or two ago.* It was called "First Fruits," and these are three verses from it:—

In the dark womb where I began,
My mother's life made me a man;
Through all the months of human birth
Her beauty fed my common earth;
I cannot see, nor breathe, nor stir,
But through the death of some of her.

* * *

If the grave's gates could be undone,
She would not know her little son,
I am so grown. If we should meet
She might pass by me in the street;
Unless my soul's face let her see
My sense of what she did for me.

* * *

What have I done, or tried, or said,
In thanks to that dear woman dead?
Men triumph over women still,
Men trample women's rights at will,
And man's lust roves the world untamed.
O, grave, keep shut, lest I be shamed.

The same consciousness of the spiritual significance of the woman's part in life is found in Mr. Masefield's tragedy of "Nan," the same poignant sense of what the woman has to suffer and endure.

A debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Algernon Greig and Mr. Milton Rosmer for giving us the revival of this play at the Royal Court Theatre, while the acting of Miss Irene Rooke in the title rôle is superb.

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* In Votes for Women, January 28, 1910.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

For Cruelty to Animals

The *Pall Mall Gazette* (September 8) reports case of a plumber, aged forty-five, of Edmonton, who was charged at Enfield with torturing a fowl by plucking it alive. Sentence: *One month's hard labour.*

The *Daily Citizen* (September 9) reports case of a doctor's son, aged sixteen, a dispenser at Bow, who was charged before Mr. Hedderwick at North London Police Court for having cruelly worked and ill-treated a mare. Veterinary surgeon said it was lame in both fore-legs, had sores on the withers and shoulders where the collar would press, and under the thighs between fifty and sixty weals caused by a whip, some of which had drawn blood. Sentence: *21 days in the second division.*

For Wounding a Wife

At the Old Bailey on September 6, before Mr. Justice Rowlatt, James Robert Goater was charged with feloniously wounding his wife. He had been drinking for several days, and having locked the door, tried to cut her throat, and succeeded in cutting her arms and hands. The wife interceded for him, and was an unwilling witness. Sentence: *Bound over in £5 to come up if called upon.*

For Offence Against the Person

At the Old Bailey last week (London Sessions) Edward Fowler, aged sixty-six, was charged with carnal knowledge of a girl aged about fifteen; he pleaded guilty to an attempt which he said did not succeed. Sentence: *2 months in the second division.*

For Theft

At the Central Criminal Court, during the London Sessions last week, a maid-servant was charged with stealing a gold pin and a cheque for £14, which she forged. Sentence: *9 months' hard labour.*

At the above Sessions on September 7, before Mr. Justice Rentoul, a man was charged with overcoming a drunken man and robbing him by tearing his pocket out. The Judge called this offence "one of the most cowardly a man could do." Sentence: *3 years' penal servitude.*

For Blackmail

At the Old Bailey last week (London Sessions) Mrs. Edith Wagner and Ernest Wagner were charged with demanding money with menaces by threatening to write defamatory letters to the wives, sisters, &c., of men. Sentence: Edith Wagner, *5 years' penal servitude;* Ernest Wagner, said to have acted under his mother's influence, *12 months' hard labour.*

For Tax-Resistance

On September 1 the Bromley police authorities carried the sentence of the Court into effect and conveyed Mrs. Harvey to Holloway Gaol. Her offence was refusal as a voteless woman to pay the Tax Insurance and licence of her gardener. Sentence: *2 months in the second division.*

"A RESPECTABLE MAN"

In sentencing a porter to three years' penal servitude for shooting at his wife, Mr. Justice Rowlatt made the curious remark at the Old Bailey on September 4 that he was sorry for the prisoner, who was a respectable man, but *the use of the pistol must be stamped out with all necessary severity,* painful as it might be for those who had to inflict the punishment.

We knew there must be some reason why the prisoner was given such a severe sentence instead of being merely bound over to come up if called upon. Still, we should have thought that the habit of shooting at a wife was also one that might with advantage be stamped out with all necessary severity (the wife in question being wounded in the head, by the way). Apparently, however, this view of the case would have been altogether too painful to be entertained by those who had to inflict the punishment.

NO LENIENCY FOR WHITE SLAVERS WHERE WOMEN HAVE THE VOTE

In San Francisco, where women have the vote, wealth and influence are unable to shield those who offend against the White Slave Traffic Laws. Two wealthy married men have just been convicted in the Courts there of abducting two schoolgirls; and the one was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment and a fine of £4,000, the other to 5 years and a fine of £1,000. Both men have given notice of appeal against their sentences.

Every kind of effort was made by powerful friends to delay the trial and avoid a conviction; but these were unavailing, and the jury entirely swept aside the plea that the girls were willing accessories.

What a contrast to the way the Piccadilly flat case was hushed up in this country of voteless women!

◆

"GOD MADE HER: LET HER PASS" FOR A MAN!

Added emphasis is given to the women's demand for equal wages with men for work that is equal to a man's, by a case reported in the *Standard* (September 4) of an American woman, Elizabeth Trondle, who has addressed a personal appeal to President Wilson from her cell in Brooklyn Gaol, where she has been imprisoned for insisting on wearing a man's dress. She has been arrested repeatedly for this offence, and in her appeal to the President she points out that as a woman she had to work for 24s. a week, and to endure many slights and insults, whereas in the garb of a man she obtained work as a bookbinder at a salary of £3 a week. "As a man," she writes, "I am better respected and better paid. If I can do a man's work, surely it is not a crime for me, a female, to wear man's clothes."

"Are Women Protected?

We do not seem to have advanced very far since the days when women writers had to call themselves "George" in order to obtain a fair judgment for their books, if, nowadays, a woman has to pass for a man in order to escape slights and insults, and to earn a fair return for her work. Yet we know that this is true, on both sides of the Atlantic, and that, only last November, a "navvy" at Newcastle, who was fatally injured when loading sheet metal, turned out to be a woman, who had passed for a man since the preceding May in order to earn a sufficient wage to keep herself and her children.

What humbug it is to talk of the "protected" sex, when women have to disguise that they are women in order to win the right to live!

◆

"WHO PAYS THE FINE?"

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—In your article of this week, "The Spoilt Darling of the Law," you draw attention to the fact that magistrates impose fines, not imprisonment, upon men convicted of criminal assaults upon children and brutal and violent assaults upon women. Now, I wish to point out that such fines are no punishment for the man, and are not intended as such. In one case, where a man kicked his wife, who was far advanced in pregnancy, the infant being later still-born, he was duly fined, but he stopped his wife's housekeeping money for three weeks in order to pay this fine, and upon her complaining to his employer, she was told it was her own fault for appearing against him in the assault case.

Generally speaking, most magistrates (both London and County) do their utmost to avoid inflicting adequate punishment upon a man for acts of brutality against women, or criminal assaults upon young children.

At the Old Bailey and Westminster Police Courts, all women, whether witnesses or spectators, are ordered out of Court when such cases are heard, and the miserable women charged with soliciting, or little girls giving evidence of indecent assault, are subjected to the sneers and looks and objectionable remarks of all the men who crowd into the court to gloat over the details of such cases.—Yours faithfully,

Antonia Moser.

Southampton House, 317, High Holborn.
September 5, 1913.

THE MOVEMENT ABROAD

IN CANADA

News comes in a telegram to the *Times* from its Toronto correspondent (September 3) that the City Council of Calgary has decided to amend the City Charter in order to admit all adult men and women to the municipal franchise, subject to the qualification that every voter must be able to read the second reader in use in the schools of Alberta.

Women Police Demanded

The women in Calgary have an extensive reform programme, and intend to be very active at the next City elections, which take place in December. One of the reforms for which they are now agitating with great earnestness is the appointment of two women to the Calgary police force.

IN FINLAND

Finland, in the throes of its struggle against Russian tyranny, has reason to rejoice that at the General Election of last month more women members were returned to the Landtag than has ever been the case before, thus showing that in this country, at all events, the electors are thoroughly satisfied with the record of their women representatives. Twenty-one have been elected, of whom the two best known to English Suffragists will probably be Miss Annie Fürühjelm and Miss Tekla Hultin.

IN AUSTRALIA

The women of Melbourne gave Madame Nordica a great welcome on the occasion of the concert for women given by her in that city on August 14. Miss Vida Goldstein was one of the hon. secretaries of the Concert Committee, which represented forty-three women's organisations, each one of which was represented on the night of the concert by two girls, dressed in white, and carrying gold staffs decorated with wattle blossom. These formed a guard of honour to Madame Nordica when she arrived.

The *Woman Voter* (Melbourne) says:—

"Madame Nordica is a woman of commanding personality, big-brained, big-hearted. All the world knows of her as one of the greatest of Wagnerian artists, but because the Press is not concerned with the woman movement her deep interest in this fundamental question is not so widely known. She is a member of the largest Suffrage society in New York, and represented 'Freedom' in the great Suffrage Pageant in the Metropolitan Opera House, wearing on her head a crown of nine stars, typifying the nine enfranchised States. In the course of an interview in Sydney, she said, in regard to Woman Suffrage in America:

"'Our Eastern States in America are not, I am sorry to say, going on as fast as the West, but it has to come—it has to come. It has been coming steadily like a tide for years, and now the great wave has burst. It is everywhere; shall I tell you why? Because women have not had justice in the past. Men are apt to talk very grandly of the beauty of motherhood and the honour of wifehood, but how have they treated both those sacred callings? Very grudgingly, and the result is a general revolt. Women want fair play, and they are going to get it; and look at the splendid women who are proving day by day their capability of government and organisation all over the world!'

"'And you belong to the Suffrage League in New York?'

"'Really, I just can't remember how many of them I do belong to,' was the laughing response. 'I've lost count. There is my big, free singing class, for instance, in New York, where every girl who wants to join must first join the League, and so we all help where we can. . . .'

"Enough to Embitter Anyone"

"'There is not that same sad sex antagonism in America that we read of in England. But, then, in America men have not been brought up to regard themselves as the head of the family by divine right. Our men leave their money to sons and daughters equally, not all to the eldest son; and no American woman ever feels that she is a mere adjunct in her family—a feeling which you must admit is enough to embitter anyone. We are not militants in America, but we do not condemn our English sisters who believe in those methods, because we cannot quite understand their feelings. We have not had their bitter experience.'"

IN SOUTH AFRICA

Miss Lilian Esson, President of the Women's Reform Club of Johannesburg, sends us the following interesting account of this organisation, which, she informs us, is the largest Suffrage Society of the South African Union:—

"At the time—now three years ago—of the first general election to the Union Parliament there was only one Suffrage Society in Johannesburg, known as the Women's Enfranchisement League, numbering on paper about 150 members, including myself. At a fairly representative general meeting, at which about 100 members were present, this Society agreed by a very narrow majority to send a circular to Parliamentary candidates, pledging its members to canvass for those who declared themselves in favour of Votes for Women. The minority felt themselves strongly opposed to this course, the futility of which has been shown in England. The peculiar conditions of South African party politics, which it would be tedious to recapitulate, seemed to them to render such a course, if possible, more futile here than in England. The minority, therefore, saw no alternative but secession, and the formation of another Society pledged to no such erroneous election policy.

"The new Society started in November, 1910, with about fifty members, of which I was one. We took the name of the Women's Reform Club, having in our mind the famous English Reform Club, which, I believe, was originated at the time of the Reform Bill primarily for the reform of the electoral system.

The Demand for a Demand

"We had succeeded in drawing a declaration, more or less public, both from the Prime Minister and from the Leader of the Opposition, then Dr. Jameson, that they would be prepared to grant Women's Suffrage should any considerable demand for it be shown by the women of the country. We thus decided that one of our first tasks was to test the bona-fides of these declarations by educating the women, who were by no means so far advanced in this respect as the women of Europe. We therefore added the following to our original object:—(1) To educate women in the knowledge of the laws affecting women and children, and to further legislation in their interests; and (2) to arouse women to the sense of their responsibility as citizens, and encourage the intelligent exercise of those public functions with which they have already been entrusted.

A "Woman's Charter"

"This constitution fulfils a threefold end: (1) We are, out here, at all events, continually told that we can get what we want without the vote. Our experience in this direction amply proves how helpless we are without political power. (2) It also educates women, and shows them how much there is to be done, and in so doing converts them, and men, too, to the principle of Women's Suffrage. (3) It puts us in a position to use to the full our power, when we can get it, and to achieve a maximum amount of good by it. We have already drawn up a legislative programme of ten items, revising the law in the interests of Moral and Social Reform.

"The little difference over the matter of tactics, shown by the establishment of a new Society, seemed to put fresh life into the Suffrage movement, which had become almost moribund in Johannesburg. By the end of the year each of the Societies numbered 150, the original number of the one, and since then our Society at least has increased at the rate of 100 paid-up members a year, and the increase would be much greater were it not for the somewhat migratory nature of this population, which causes a considerable leakage in the membership.

"Two other Suffrage Societies have adopted our name and colours, and have joined the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa, which was formed in 1911 and was admitted to the International Association at Budapest this year. Our colours are purple, pale blue, and white. We hope soon to have increased our membership to 1,000, unless, indeed, we have the vote before that, though I see no reason why we should not even then continue our work, both as a flourishing residential club and as a factor in watching and modifying the laws of the country."

WOMEN AND THE CHURCH CONGRESS

The growth of the woman's movement has been so rapid during the past year, and the Suffrage Societies in connection with the various religious bodies are now so strong, that it has become impossible any longer for the Church to ignore the great question for which all these organisations stand; and at this year's Church Congress one day is to be almost entirely given up to the discussion of the women's position.

The Congress will sit at Southampton from Tuesday, September 30, to October 3; and on Wednesday, October 1, Bishop Welldon, Dean of Manchester, will open a discussion on "The Kingdom of God and the Sexes," and will be followed by Mrs. Luke Paget, wife of the Bishop of Stepney, and other women speakers. Marriage will be the subject of discussion, both at the afternoon and evening sessions.

On the day before the opening of the Congress a special meeting for women will be held in the Southampton Coliseum, and another in the same hall on Wednesday, the 1st, for young women, at which Mrs. Creighton, widow of the late Bishop of London, will be the chief speaker.

A WOMAN'S MARCH ON SOUTHAMPTON

An admirable demonstration is being organised by the Marchers' Qui Vive Corps, in conjunction with branches of the Church League for Woman Suffrage, and aided by members of other societies. They intend to march on Southampton, while the Church is holding its Congress, "in order that the spirit of their great Cause may inspire and strengthen the efforts that delegates are making on behalf of Womanhood," and to show that "it is religious earnestness that dominates the fervour of women in their fight for freedom."

Plan of the March

The following is the plan of the march:

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29.

Corsham—Rally, morning.
Porchester—Meeting, morning.
Fareham—Meeting, dinner hour.
Swanick—Meeting, stay night.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

Burlesden—Meeting, dinner hour.
Netley—Meeting, stay night.

On Wednesday, October 1, the Church Congress can be attended by marchers, but the official march into Southampton will take place on Thursday, October 2, and the marchers will be met by the Church League. This will be followed by an open-air or indoor meeting, to be addressed by clergy only. There will also be an evening meeting. It is estimated that the distance marched each day will be eight miles, and those wishing to help, either by marching or by sending donations towards the expenses, are asked to communicate with the Leader of the Corps, Mrs. de Fonblanque, at Duneton, Petworth.

Paper-sellers—always Paper-sellers!

We make a special appeal for volunteers to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN at the Congress, on page 712, and here add the suggestion that some of these should join the march and sell papers on the way.

THE CHURCH MILITANT

Passages from a Suffrage Sermon

The Reverend E. H. Taylor, Vicar of Sustead, near Norwich, preached a powerful sermon the other day on the Woman Suffrage movement. We regret that we have only space to quote one or two passages from it.

Speaking of the movement as "the greatest religious and spiritual force the world has ever seen," the preacher goes on to deal with the objection, "How about its more militant manifestations?" and says:—

"History gives the answer, and it is that every popular movement has become violent and militant the moment an attempt has been made to suppress it by force. Revolutions have been caused by the obstinacy of rulers, who have either been ignorant of the nature of such movements, or have affected to ignore them. The wonder is, not that the manifestations of the present movement have been violent, but that they have not been more violent, considering the methods of force that have been used in the attempt to suppress it. The explanation lies in the fact that the people of this country have not, at any rate, up to the present, understood what those methods have really been. The ingenuity of the Press has designedly kept them ignorant. But you cannot keep people ignorant for ever. Once let the people of the country get the idea that the administration of the police is being vindictively employed against the leaders of this movement, and that justice is being tampered with for social and political purposes, and there is no Government in the world that would be able to withstand the violence that would be aroused."

The Power of Sacrifice

Finally, the preacher speaks of the power of sacrifice which has now been infused into the Suffrage movement.

"For over thirty years it has relied on the logic of argument, it has been apologetic, it has written books and treatises, now it rises to the logic of a higher plane, it sacrifices itself, it is not afraid even of death. There is more impelling and attractive power in the sacrifice of blood than in a whole library of academic dissertation.

"When people discover the power of sacrifice they will discover, too, the source from whence it springs. It springs from enthusiasm for an ideal. Nothing else can cause it. And it is enthusiasm for the ideal that has made the movement of to-day the greatest religious and spiritual force the world has ever seen, and has made its leaders greater in their power of courage and endurance than the greatest heroes of the battlefield."

A SPIRITUALIST'S VIEW

After mentioning that a resolution condemning the Cat and Mouse Act has been passed by the Parkgate Branch of the S.N.U., Mr. H. G. Hey, General Secretary of the Spiritualists' National Union, writing in *The Two Worlds*, says:—

"Don't be cowed by the pompous, diaconal statement that this is a political matter, and outside our scope as a religious body. Any measure which seeks to crush the spirit out of a gallant body of women seeking to obtain for their sex full and free expression of their selfhood is a retrograde step spiritually, and the placing of woman on a plane of equality with man, the recognition of her as helpmate, not serf, as companion, not drudge, as the complementary second pillar in the structure of humanity, is a call to us, upon our answer to which will depend the verdict of futurity as to whether we were really spiritual or only whited sepulchres.

"You may differ from their methods, but their aim is a holy one, and demands the whole-hearted support of all who dream of a state where one shall not be before or after the other, but linked arm-in-arm. . . . Think of your mothers, your wives, your sisters; think how much you owe them, and, in their memory, do your share to free their sex."

COURAGE OF WOMEN AT THE AISGILL DISASTER

From the story told to me by a survivor of the Aisgill train disaster, writes one of our correspondents, it seems clear that hardly enough has yet been said about the courage shown during that awful scene by both men and women, nor have the conditions been fully realised. The smoke was blowing along the carriages in thick clouds, so to pass to the fire under the bridge, which was acting like a chimney and drawing the smoke and flames, required no common courage; but the men went through that inferno and worked more by feel than by sight in smoke so dense and smothering that they had constantly to dash away for a breath of fresh air. To the onlookers even at a distance the flames and the noise were terrifying. Yet there was no panic. The women did all they could to help, and some of the younger girls especially worked splendidly, doing everything in their power for the rescued people.

A London Girl's Bravery and Resource

Several of the rescue party especially mention the amazing courage and resource displayed by Miss Nan Clark, the London girl who actually watched the collision, and who, as soon as she saw the wrecked carriages and heard the cries of the wounded, went to rouse the other passengers, hunted out the fire extinguishers, and brought from the carriages cushions, rugs, and wet towels for the rescued, doing everything, in fact, that might have been expected from a trained woman instead of from a girl without experience.

SUFFRAGISTS WHO ARE NOW IN PRISON

Name.	Date of Conviction.	Sentence.	Place of Imprisonment.
Miss Annie Bell*	(1) April 22	21 days	Holloway
"	(2) July 26	21 days	"
Mr. Donald McEwan	May 19	9 months	Calton Gaol, Edinburgh
Miss Lake*	June 17	6 months	Warwick
Mr. John Manders	Aug. 11	2 months' h.l.	Pentonville
Mrs. Harvey	Sept. 1	2 months	Holloway
Mrs. Rigby*	July 30	9 months' h.l.	Liverpool

* Re-arrested under Cat and Mouse Act.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the week:—

Thursday, September 4.—Attempt to burn empty house at Great Chesterfield, Essex.

Friday, September 5.—Two outbreaks of fire at Dulwich College, in science and chemistry laboratories. Damage estimated at £300.

Hayrick burned on Hampstead golf links.

Sunday, September 7.—Outbreak of fire at Lewisham Post Office, caused by explosion in letter-box. Considerable damage done, and contents of letter-box destroyed.

Tuesday, September 9.—Some corrosive fluid found in pillar-box near the Mansion House.

Wheat rick burnt at Berkhamsted.

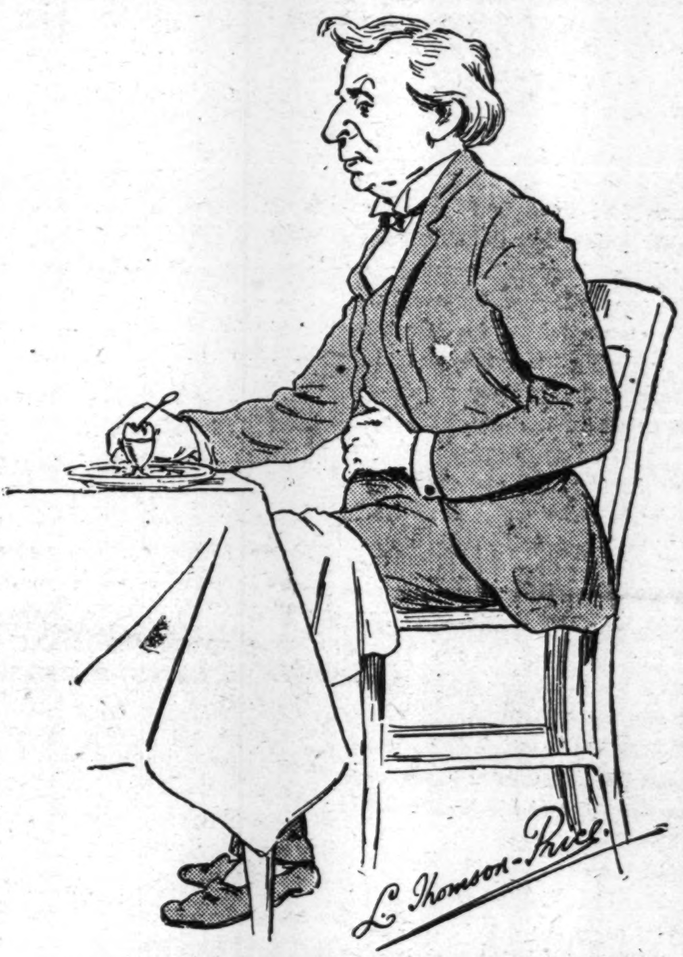
SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS

Mrs. Rigby was re-arrested for the fourth time on September 9, and has therefore been undergoing her fifth hunger-strike since her first arrest on July 10.

Miss Annie Bell was re-arrested on September 6, for the third time.

Miss Shepherd was re-arrested for the first time on September 6, and was released on September 9, her fine having been paid anonymously.

Miss Jarvis was re-arrested for the second time on September 2, and released on licence on September 8.


L. Thomson-Price.

AFTER THREE WEEKS OF THE DIET

Imaginary picture (sent to us by a "Votes for Women" Fellow) of a political personage to whom some unkind friend has suggested that even his cook might be a Suffragette, and that it would therefore be wiser to confine his diet to boiled eggs while the present discontent lasts among women

IN THE PRESS

THE GOLF LINKS INCIDENT

There can be little doubt that by dropping the case the Crown authorities have very much disappointed the militant Suffragists. The trial would have been a splendid advertisement for their cause. It is doubtful, however, if the decision was altogether a wise one. It is a tacit admission that justice is unable to cope with the Suffragists. It is also equivalent to telling the ladies that their assault was not serious enough to merit the trouble and inconvenience of a trial. From this point of view it is simply an incentive to still greater violence. There are cases, of course, where it is wisdom to draw back, and where weakness is strength, but we hardly think the present incident can be classed in that category. If the authorities were to take no action, it would have been more dignified if they had arrived at that decision at the beginning instead of waiting until the eyes of the whole country were centred upon their proceedings.—**Northern Scot.**

THE STAR CHAMBER

A great deal is said about the reverting of militant Englishwomen to anarchy. Curiously enough, the colonial Press seems unaware that the English Government has simultaneously reverted to the tyranny of the Star Chamber. That is to say, the English Cabinet is wobbling on the fence between constitutionalism and despotism. Now it stretches down a heavy foot on the Star Chamber side, suppresses a newspaper in advance, denies free speech to a peaceful meeting, orders the renewed torture of resisters in prison, "cooks" a law to persecute one marked man or a few marked women. Then a howl breaks from the nation; the Premier and his henchmen remember with a timid start they are not in Russia or the seventeenth century, and lurch clumsily back to their balance with the grace of detected poachers.—**Canterbury Times (N.Z.).**

A SORRY PAGE

The most significant aspect of the Suffrage situation to-day at home, we must repeat, is the reactionary and unconstitutional policy of the Government, which has attacked at one and the same time the freedom of the Press, the right of free speech and peaceful assembly, and the rights of persons in legal conflict with the Crown. This half-year's work will make a sorry page in English history.—**Canterbury Times (N.Z.).**

THE STRONG WORD

Whatever faults and errors may mark the Suffrage movement, all may unite in blessing it for one thing—the strong word for the greater good of woman.—**Father Raymond Saunders, C.P., in "The Cross."**

CORRESPONDENCE

TEACHERS' SALARIES AND ANTI-SUFFRAGE

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—The August number of the *Anti-Suffrage Review* contains a paragraph headed "Teachers' Salaries and the Vote," which appears to me to be highly misleading.

The paragraph gives a table comparing the average salaries of men and women certificated head and assistant-teachers in England and Wales with those of teachers in secondary schools in New Zealand. The first set of figures are taken from the Board of Education return lately published, the second from the New Zealand Year Book for 1912. The paragraph concludes:—

"It will be seen that the excess of men's salaries over women's in New Zealand is 58 per cent., while in England and Wales it is only from 30 to 43 per cent."

In the September number of the *Review*, in an article on "Votes and Wages," by Herbert G. Williams, A.M.I.C.E., M.Sc., M.Eng., we find the same information with regard to teachers in New Zealand repeated. It is introduced as follows:—

"In the teaching profession, *where there is possibly greater identity of the work of men and women than in any other occupation* (the italics are mine), one would expect to find in New Zealand a greater equality of pay than in this country, if the suffragists' arguments were true; but the following figures (pp. 232-3) (the only ones on the subject in the Year Book), relating to teachers in secondary schools, certainly show a greater disparity than exists in the United Kingdom:—

	No. of Teachers.	Aggregate Salaries.	Average Salaries.
Males ……	148 …	£41,441 …	£280 0s.
Females ……	111 …	£19,641 …	£176 19s.

"In this case the men are paid 58 per cent. more than the women."

It will be noted that in each of the instances given above, the figures given are averages of salaries calculated without reference to the grades, while in the conclusion drawn from them, the fact that they are averages is omitted altogether. The impression quite clearly conveyed in each case is that, so far as teachers are concerned, the principle of equal pay for equal work is further from being recognised in New Zealand than in this country.

The fact is that in New Zealand the scale of pay for men and women teachers is the same. This is, indeed, expressly noted in the Report of the Minister for Education for 1910, under figures approximating to those quoted above. Under the Education Act, 1908 (as amended by later Acts), the word "Teacher" is defined as meaning schoolmaster *or* schoolmistress. The sole difference in the examinations for certificates is that women have to take needlework in place of one of the subjects taken by men, while the only other distinction between men and women is found under the regulations applying to the number of male and female assistants at mixed schools.

The reason why the average salary of women works out at a lower rate than that of men is a simple one. In New Zealand, whatever the cause, men teachers, as a rule, remain in the profession for a very much longer time than women. As a consequence, a much smaller proportion of women reach the higher grades. The report of the Minister for Education, referred to above, gives the total number of teachers in 1910 as 4,408, of whom 1,630 are men and 2,778 are women, and we find that they are divided in the following proportion:—

	Men.	Women.
Heads of schools …	712 …	72
Sole teachers ……	445 …	793
Assistant teachers …	299 …	1,387
Pupil teachers ……	174 …	526
	1,630	2,778

It will be obvious that with a preponderance of men in the more highly paid positions, and a preponderance of women in the lower-paid, the average of the salaries of women must be lower than the average salary of men, though the scale of pay is the same for both.

The articles in the two issues of the *Anti-Suffrage Review* referred to are calculated to give a totally incorrect idea of the facts, but I have, as yet, seen no contradiction of them.—Yours faithfully,

John L. Cather.

Red Cottage, Cavendish Road, Redhill.
September 10, 1913.

A POPULAR ERROR RE WEIGHT OF BRAIN

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—In a recent discussion on "The Athletic Girl," in one of our leading dailies, I find the following:—

"Girls have smaller brains that men, but as hardly one man in a thousand ever exercises his brain to its full extent, they have every chance to equal us all along the line."

Physiologists tell us, however, that weight of brain should always be considered in relation to the weight of the entire body.

Dr. Andrew Wilson, when writing on the relative weight of the male and female brain, says: "When we have regard to the fact that the weight of the brain includes a vast amount of white matter, consisting of nerve fibres which have no concern with intellectual actions, we may note that brain weight, by itself, constitutes no evidence of intellectual ability. The phrase, 'Big brain, little wit,' is probably quite as true as that which asserts that a large brain is invariably associated with intellectual attainments."

J. D.

London, S.W.

BEBEL HOUSE REBEL PEN CLUB

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Will you kindly publish this letter in your paper, in order to clear the air of erroneous notions about our Bebel House Rebel Pen Club? The *Rebel* Pen Club was founded for the following reasons:—(1) Expression means progression in a class as in a nation. Working-class women, therefore, must learn to cultivate powers of expression in writing and in speaking. (2) Literature is, to a large extent, lop-sided, inasmuch as hundreds of working-class women who might have done so, have not expressed themselves, though, with sympathetic assistance, they might have held up the mirror to corners of life unseen by the many superior persons who have shown the necessity that the workers should speak for themselves. (3) Many working women may make efforts singly to aid progression by their pens, but people organised together with an aim in view find inspiration and courage in the fellowship of others. Also, through organisation, they become a stronger and more subtle force for the furthering of the women's forward movement in the widest sense of the term. Bebel House Rebel Pen Club is to provide this organisation.—Yours, &c.,

Ethel Carnie.

"WOMEN CIVIL SERVANTS AND THE HOLT COMMITTEE"

Referring to the article by "A Woman Post Office Clerk," in last week's issue of Votes for Women, the *Daily Herald* says:—

"So far as we are aware there was no woman M.P. on the committee to look after the interests of women. Of course there was a Labour M.P., but he does not appear to have done much, anyhow. We hope that, had women been represented as fully on the committee as men were, no such report as the one now being criticised would have been issued. But, after all, what have the men done for themselves with a vote? Of course, when we agree with the women that they will find a vote useful, it is on the assumption that they use it. The men rarely use their votes—they give them away to their Liberal and Tory masters."

Chapter 3

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1.—To take Votes for Women each week and read it.

2.—To circulate Votes for Women among friends.

3.—To sell Votes for Women in the streets or by house to house canvas.

4.—To obtain new subscriptions for three or six months to the paper.

5.—To deal as far as possible with the firms that advertise in Votes for Women.

6.—To canvass newsagents with the purpose of securing the display of Votes for Women posters.

7.—To secure new members for the Votes for Women Fellowship.

8.—To contribute to the Votes for Women Fellowship Fund, for various purposes of development, including the display of posters.

9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation.

To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

To educate and arouse opinion throughout the country, and rally sympathy and support to the fighters in this campaign for human liberty; to stimulate strenuous opposition to the Government's policy of futile and wicked coercion, and to persuade all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure upon the King's ministers to carry out the spirit of the British Constitution, and to concede the just and reasonable demand of women to be included in the body politic.

Methods.—Active co-operation, by one or all of the various forms of service enumerated on the opposite page, with the Editors of Votes for Women, so that in fellowship of spirit and unity of purpose the common aim as stated above may be achieved.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy. Commencing in 1914, there will be a minimum entrance fee of 1s., and also a minimum annual subscription of 1s., due in January of each year.

Just as the Fellowship itself does not compete with any existing organization, so Votes for Women does not compete with any existing Suffrage paper. It serves a different though complementary purpose. As a paper independent of all Suffrage societies, it addresses itself to the outside public, presents a catholic view of the Woman's Movement, and appeals to every class and section of the community. Its wide circulation must result in more recruits for the various battalions of the Suffrage army and a greater demand of the official publications of the great militant and non-militant Unions.

The Editors of Votes for Women give their services to the paper without remuneration of any kind. That service is their contribution to the Suffrage Movement as a whole. They are pledged to devote any financial profits that may accrue to the further development of the paper.

Please enrol me as a member of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship.

Name……………………………………………………
(Please state whether Mrs., Miss, or Esq., etc.)

Full Address……………………………………………
……………………………………………………………

---

* The above, in the form of a six-page card, will be sent to any reader of "Votes for Women" on application to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge
President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

The N.C.S. continue to hold very successful Sunday morning meetings in Hyde Park. Last Sunday Mrs. Merivale Mayer and Miss McGowan were the speakers. The members of the audience were all, apparently, so much in sympathy with the cause that not the slightest opposition was evinced throughout the meeting. Mrs. Kerr, Miss Madeleine Kerr, and Miss Raynsford Jackson did excellent service at question time by distributing membership cards amongst those present at the meeting who displayed particular interest in the Society. Members and friends are invited to attend these weekly meetings, when possible, and help in like manner.

WHITECHAPEL CAMPAIGN

Office: 136, Whitechapel Road
Station: St. Mary's, District Railway

This is now in full swing. Open-air meetings are held nightly, and indoor meetings daily at the office, 3 p.m. Several members have already responded to our appeal for help in this campaign, but more workers are urgently needed. Open-air speakers, indoor speakers, and canvassers are specially required. This particular campaign affords a splendid opportunity to get into touch with the women of the East End. Suffragists are fond of citing the sweated woman worker as a terrible illustration of the urgency of the vote. Sometimes, however, the information is based merely upon hearsay. Such knowledge is never so valuable as that gained at first-hand. And in public speaking and controversy, it is always the data collected by oneself that proves so telling. Will members, therefore, regard it as a special duty to come down to Whitechapel during the next few weeks? Here the sweated worker exists in large numbers, and the evil results of such sweating are only too apparent.

FUTURE MEETINGS

Thursday, September 11.—Whitechapel New Road, 8 p.m. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss McGowan.
Friday, September 12.—Whitechapel, Fulbourne Street, 8 p.m. Mrs. Kerr, Mrs. Merivale Mayer.
Sunday, September 14.—Hyde Park, noon. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Mrs. Kerr, Miss McGowan.
Monday, September 15.—Whitechapel, Valance Road, 8 p.m. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss Goddard.
Tuesday, September 16.—Whitechapel, Church Lane, 8 p.m. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss Simeon.
Wednesday, September 17.—Whitechapel, Mile End Waste, 8 p.m. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss McGowan.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4, MASS MEETING TOWER HILL.

◆

COMING EVENTS

A demonstration will be held by the Women's Freedom League in Trafalgar Square on Saturday next, the 13th, at 3.30 p.m., to protest against the sentence passed on Mrs. Harvey for refusal to comply with the regulations of the Insurance Act. The speakers will include Mrs. Despard and Mr. George Lansbury. The League will recommence its weekly public meetings at the Caxton Hall on September 24, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers, Mr. Laurence Housman and Miss Nina Boyle.

Mr. Laurence Housman will speak on "The Defeat of Physical Force in Government" at the South Place Ethical Society, South Place, Finsbury, E.C., on Sunday next at 11 a.m.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage, in addition to many smaller meetings, will hold a meeting in the Victoria Rooms, Southampton, on September 24, at 8 p.m. Speakers, the Earl of Lytton, the Right Rev. Bishop Powell, and Mrs. Cather.

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship will hold a meeting at the Kingsway Hall on October 16. For particulars, see page 712.

◆

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

Miss Bourne Goes to America

Miss Adeline Bourne, whose services to the Suffrage cause are too well known to need recapitulation, is going to America shortly on tour with Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson, and is therefore obliged to resign the Honorary Secretaryship of the Actresses' Franchise League. We are asked to publish the following letter, which has been addressed to her by the Executive Committee of the A. F. L.:—

My dear Miss Bourne,—We, the members of the Committee of the A.F.L., feel that we should like to try and express to you, before we part, our very deep sense of regret at losing you from the Hon. Secretaryship of the League. We want to thank you in the name of the Actresses' Franchise League for the immense amount of self-sacrificing work you have done for the League, and, through the League, for the cause of all women. We know that in saying this we are voicing the opinion of all our members.

We wish you good fortune in your future, and look forward to the time when you are once more able to give your splendid services to the League you founded.—Yours in comradeship,

(Signed) MAY WHITTY.
NINA BOUCICAULT.
MADELEINE LUCETTE RYLEY.
JANETTE STEER.
VICTORIA ADDISON.
WINIFRED MAYO.
ELIZABETH FAGAN.

◆

THE MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

A new branch of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage has been formed at Camberwell and Forest Hill, the secretary of which is Mr. A. J. Clifford Ewen, 1B, East Dulwich Road, S.E. It is a matter of great satisfaction that a number of the clergy have expressed their sympathy, and that the vicars of three of the local parishes have become members of this new branch.

◆

SOME BEAUTIFUL BANNERS

The good work done by the Suffrage Atelier was to be seen at an exhibition of banners held recently by them at the Westminster Tea-shop. Among the most noticeable exhibits was a large banner in progress of work by Mrs. Herbert Cohen, and designed for the Jewish League by Miss Ethel Cohen. There was also a banner bearing the figure of St. Alban, by Mrs. Ambrose Gosling, an appliqué reproduction of Leighton's "Flaming June," by Miss Mildred Statham, and some handsome banners by Miss Clemence Houseman, one of which is on view at the office of the Atelier, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi.

◆

THE CASE OF MRS. HARVEY

In view of the great injustice of Mrs. Harvey's sentence of two months' imprisonment for resisting as a voteless woman the requirements of the Insurance Act, a movement has been set on foot to assist in the agitation for her release, by (1) Sending a postcard to the Home Secretary, Home Office, Whitehall, S.W., protesting against the severity of Mrs. Harvey's sentence, and demanding her immediate release; and (2) sending a copy of the postcard to three friends, requesting them to do the same.

◆

VOTES FOR POLICE!

There was a time when the police constable was ranked with Peers, lunatics, criminals, infants — and women. Before the Police Disabilities Act of 1887 was passed, policemen had no votes. Although a favourite contention of the "Antis" is that the Parliamentary vote has no effect upon wages, it is interesting to contrast the rise in wages that took place in the City Police Force in 1890, when they had possessed the power of the vote just three years.

BEFORE 1890.	AFTER 1890.
First-class constable, 31s. 6d.	First-class constable, 36s. Other ranks were raised in proportion.
Age for claiming pension: 60 years, or, if unfit for duty, after 15 years' service. (Minimum age for joining, 18 years.)	*Age for claiming pension:* Any age after 25 years' service, even if in perfect health. (Minimum age for joining, 21 years.)

◆

THE AFTERTHOUGHT

One of the witnesses examined at the recent enquiry into the Aisgill train disaster gave the following answers in reply to questions:—

"Was there a great deal of confusion?—Oh, yes, among the women and children.

"But among the men as to what they should do?—Yes; they didn't know what to do."

New times demand new measures and new men;
The world advances, and in time outgrows
The laws that in our father's day were best,
And doubtless after us some purer scheme
Will be shaped out by wiser men than we—
Made wiser by the steady growth of truth.
The time is ripe, and rotten-ripe, for change.
Then let it come. I have no dread of what
Is called for by the instinct of mankind.
Nor think I that God's world would fall apart
Because we tear a parchment, more or less.
Truth is eternal, but her effluence,
With endless change, is fitted to the hour;
Her mirror is turned forward, to reflect
The promise of the future, not the past.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association,
C/o International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance,
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage
The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin,

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice,
2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Woman's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier,
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club,
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Votes for Women Fellowship,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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